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WAR & PEACE

GOP picks a witch hunter to buttress its general

WHILE Alan Jones sang **The Donkey Serenade** and **The Lord's Prayer,** in that order, delegates to the convention threw campaign cards at each other and pretty young ladies in pink parasols posed for photographers. In the lobby of the Conrad Hilton Hotel a reporter stopped in his tracks listening to a macabre slogan being chanted by delegates: "We want Willkie."

This was the 25th convention of the Republican Party since the nomination of Abraham Lincoln in 1860. It was a convention that chose as its 1952 standard-bearer a general and a witch hunter. They were:

DWIGHT DOUGLAS EISENHOWER, General of the Army, 61, a native of Texas, resident of New York, a life-long soldier who borrowed a World War II phrase to pledge his party to "total victory," referred to GOP National Committee as the "general staff."

RICHARD MILHOUS NIXON, U. S. Senator from California, 39, a lawyer who climbed into the headlines as an aggressive young member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, relentless hounder of Alger Hiss, co-author of the Mundt-Nixon bill, ill-fated predecessor to the McCarran Act. He said the issue in 1952 was "Communism."

15 MONTHS AGO

On April 25, 1951, the GUARDIAN's lead story was headed:

Is MacArthur the real menace?
The military plot
for a fascist America

Based on the little-publicized report of Rep. Thomas Werdel (R-Calif.), Tabitha Petran's story documented the developing fascist conspiracy, warned:

Today not MacArthur but Eisenhower is being groomed by the financial groups that dominate the country.

On May 16, 1951, Miss Petran's second article in the series carried this headline:

Eisenhower is No. 1 candidate for U. S. Strong Man

THE BACK ROOM: The public proceedings were on television and over the radio for the nation to see and hear, but there were things the public did not see—the actual business of choosing the candidates. This is how it worked:

Some New York delegates came prepared to vote for Sen. Taft. Pro-Eisenhower columnists Joseph and Stewart Alsop (N. Y. **Herald Tribune,** 7/10) told why they did not. They said Gov. Dewey

. . . pointed out to them exactly how many jobs had been allocated to each of their districts. . . . He just told them in plain terms that there would be new jobholders in those jobs within two days after his return to Albany, if the dissident delegates went on being dissident.

New York went 92 to 4 for Ike.

The Scripps-Howard newspapers' Andrew Tully noted

. . . the threat that if the delegate doesn't [go along] he can jolly well forget his share of patronage in the future. Often a business associate is called in to reason with a balky delegate. In one case, all was lost until some brain thought of trotting in a big auto manufacturer to woo a delegate who owns an auto agency. After five minutes of straightforward talk from the manufacturer the delegate was in the bag.

Philip Geyelin wrote in the **Wall St. Journal:**

More than one local GOP leader is president of a bank—and a lot of delegates are businessmen who occasionally want a loan. It's no secret that the big Detroit auto makers, who are heavy contributors to GOP coffers in Michigan wield great influence in the key Michigan delegation. Similarly, the duPont Co. is said to have considerable sway in the Delaware delegation.

Geyelin told how "spontaneous" demonstrations were organized:

In an Eisenhower command post, for example, a lieutenant picks up a telephone and barks out an order to get a band, some pretty girls (Chicago model agencies were reportedly running out of talent) and a cheering section over to the Kickerbocker Hotel to serenade the California delegation that's quartered there. The Ikeman issuing the order keeps a minute-by-minute tab on the location of these roving squads of demonstrators, so he can move them on short notice to assault suspected weak points on the delegate front.

JUST FINE, DOC: Columnist Drew Pearson described how the Taft machine's indexes listed each delegate's family doctor (reportedly supplied by

(Continued on Page 3)

Photo by Bernard

Peace was a word the GOP forgot

But it dominated the Progressive Party convention as the signs, borne aloft during a demonstration for Hallinan and Bass, amply demonstrate.

The Dead Past

By Alvah Bessie

FOR all of thirteen years
we have made speeches
in dusty half-filled halls, in private houses
(a handful there),
called meetings, passed out leaflets
picketed the consulates with picket signs that read:
NO DEALS WITH SPAIN
SAVE THE PRISONERS IN FRANCO'S PRISONS
LONG LIVE THE REPUBLIC and
MADRID WILL BE THE TOMB OF FASCISM!
For thirteen years . . .
and there are those who say:
Why live in the past? Why so much emphasis
on what is dead and gone and lost and dry
when the present is here, the future bursts the clock,
so many things to do, so little time?

Is it the past and **is** it dead and gone
and **was** Spain lost or does the battle sound?
And is it dry or is it only the tears that are dry
on the faces of children, light streams through
dirt on cheeks and lips, and isn't the blood still wet
on the dirty concrete floors of the cells
in the model prison on the hillside?

There is a village I remember
where in the house on the narrow street
there were only the grandfather and his wife
and the daughter-in-law and the children
(the one son dead in battle
the other son dying in hospital)
and I lay crippled—not by wounds but
by the absurdity of rheumatism in battle,
where every night before I went to bed
(their bed, they sleeping
on the flagstone floor)
the old woman rubbed my legs and arms
with an old woman's remedies and when
every time I left the house
I found a present on return:
(a handful of hazelnuts,
a glass of wine, dried figs
or fresh figs)
a present for a stranger in a foreign land
because they knew why I was living in their house
and wanted to say (but did not have the words):
We love you for coming
for fighting

On July 17, 1936, the Franco revolt against the Spanish Republican government began in Morocco.

BARCELONA AFTER A BOMBING IN 1938
The wire service caption said the Dept. of Sanitation would pick up the little boy later.

for suffering for us
(if only from rheumatism).
Are they dead and gone and dry (they were dry then);
The children had never seen a toy
in all their born days and did not know
what to do with one I imported for them
from Barcelona . . .
are they lost
because the cause was lost (or said to be
by important people who knew better than
these poor **analfabetos** who knew only how to love
and how to fight?)
Too much emphasis?
But tell us now, today
that the war is done.
the wounded healed and the dead are buried;
tell us now that the children's faces
are clean and fat
and their bellies flat instead of swollen
and the jails are empty and cobwebs are spun
in the corners of the cells
and
the blood has finally dried on the concrete floor
and cannot be distinguished from the red dust
of the arid soil;
and tell us the soil is no longer arid
but dark and damp and stirring
with the life of the vines
and the vats of olive oil are full
and the oil cheap and chickpeas plentiful
and meat is to be eaten instead of dreamed about
and the patent leather hats are green with age
in the museums and the fat sodomist
has gone to his reward at the feet of God—
then we will stop talking about
the past and laying so much emphasis
on what is dead and gone and lost and dry,
and return to the present that has grown out of
this past and cannot be separated from it.

"The Heart of Spain," an anthology of writing on the Spanish War, edited by Alvah Bessie, will be reviewed in an early issue.

Let's call the roll!

A million progressive voters need the GUARDIAN to keep up with the fight. You can help them.

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REPORT TO READERS

On our August plans — and some fine folk

THIS IS AN INTERIM ACKNOWLEDGEMENT to some ten thousand GUARDIAN readers who have responded thus far to our letter of May 15, asking for renewals if due and for an extra push if possible to help the paper over a sparse summer.

Individual acknowledgements will be forthcoming soon, but in order to make every mailing count, we have decided to use the occasion of mailed acknowledgements to acquaint our active boosters with plans beginning in August for the building of GUARDIAN circulation in a big way during the remaining months of the Presidential campaign. We hope you don't mind waiting a little longer.

BY THE WAY, the figure 10,000 used above by no means calls the roll of all those among our readers who have responded to GUARDIAN appeals in the past year. We have only the names of those who have responded directly to us. But we know that thousands have responded to the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case through GUARDIAN appeals, countless other have responded to proposals made by the Progressive Party (as in the case of the One-for-Ten Convention Delegate Plan).

And just this weekend we got a letter from the treasurer of an "ad hoc" committee to guarantee vacations for the children of Smith Act victims, acknowledging some $5,000 sent in by GUARDIAN readers.

OUR ROUND-FIGURE ESTIMATE is, therefore, that at least one in three GUARDIAN readers is constantly doing something to help some one else, usually in response to appeals or suggestions advanced through these columns or by direct mail.

This is a heart-warming statistic, warranting public statement of something we have been convinced of since we first began to draw breath four years ago: that the GUARDIAN counts among its readers the very finest folks in these United States.

And we are proud to tell you so. —THE EDITORS

Wrong man broken

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

I was glad to see you carried the UP release on Sgt. C. Dean Chase's letter to Gen. Clark. There were a number of good letters in the papers here supporting his right to express his opinion regarding Clark's "atrocious" behavior. The public here has been quite aroused. Mrs. Chase, the boy's mother, was overwhelmed by calls and letters of support for her son. I guess you know that because of the protest, Chase was not court martialed—he was broken to Pfc. and fined. Seems to me Clark is the one who should be broken, removed and fined!

Betty N. Daniel

Too biased

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

You have a wonderful weekly paper. Let me suggest, however, that your reporting language be more objective. From personal observation, I know that some people who are liberal-minded and are for peace feel that you are too biased.

Sam Popowsky

Daily Express, London

"Of course I always say I understand exactly how the Presidential election works—otherwise one's so apt to get it explained to one."

Spitting Syngman

CHICAGO, ILL.

Syngman Rhee's recent defiant attitude towards the U.S. and UN should have been the tip-off to our Yalu bombings. Rhee does not have to spit in the eye of our leaders to get what he wants—they go his way naturally. But he is surely spitting in the eye of good men everywhere and will continue so to do unless and until we awaken to our responsibilities.

Dr. Ralph Sackley

It's good to know

MEXICO, D. F.

I'm sure you know that you have many good friends and interested readers down here, not only among liberals and progressives, but among all those who want to get at facts which more and more people all the time are realizing the reactionary press is either unaware of or deliberately suppresses.

A friend in Mexico

Fleet foot in mouth

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Gen. Van Fleet, who late last year made the blasphemous statement: "Korea has been a blessing. . . . There had to be a Korea," shows unlimited capacity for uttering offensive-to-reason pronouncements. One of his latest he voiced on the Fourth, speaking to his men, thus: "We continue the crusade of the Minute Men of 1776, in the interest of 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.'"

His is a terribly shocking abuse of historical facts, a cunning twisting of them to satisfy his military ego as commander of a force invading another people's territory being laid waste with ferocious land, naval and aerial bombardments.

S. L. Janson

Korea — 1952

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The brazen voice announces death,
Promoting soap and murder in one breath,
"Today the flames of napalm darts,
Have seared a thousand enemy hearts.
These are not human hearts," the voice explains,
"They're only captives who threw off their chains.
They must be tamed by tanks, by splintered steel;
It's quite well-known they do not feel;
They're faceless hordes, they're brown, they're red,
They do not count nor mourn their dead.
Brothers in Christ, now let us pray,
To rule the earth the American way!"

Nan Apotheker

Come into my parlor . . .

BOISE, IDAHO

Below you will find six that should be educated. I am betting $6 that you can do it. You are not only putting out a very necessary paper in this march toward fascism, but it is clean. Never once have I seen name calling resorted to. You can enter any parlor. May you enter many. A. R. Thomas

Peace in Palto Alto

PALO ALTO, CALIF.

The following are titles of Poems for Peace by George W. Cooper, M.D. (Dorrance & Co., Phila., 1949): PRELUDE TO DEATH, HYSTERIA IN RED, OVERTURE TO MURDER, SPAWN OF WAR, DOCUMENTED MURDER, HYSTERIA OF THE A.K.A., WAR & WARRIORS, STRANGE DEMISE. It would be funny if it wasn't such sad irony to find it the only book of peace poetry in the Palo Alto book stores, including the Stanford Univ. book store.

Minnie Fishman

Freedom Stage in L. A.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

In this self-styled "hub of the entertainment world" it is a major phenomenon to get any theatre group launched. But here is FREEDOM STAGE, founded by a group of Negro leaders, trade unionists, community representatives, actors and writers, to preserve and extend the best in our cultural heritage, now threatened by blacklist, censorship, intimidation and fear.

With a professional Equity cast and blood, sweat and tears, they have put on a magnificent production of Herb Tank's play, Longitude 49, which has thrilled audiences during a four-week weekend run during June. We are playing a return engagement of four weekends, beginning July 18 and each Friday, Saturday, Sunday thereafter through Aug. 10 at Robertson Rendezvous, 2515 S. Robertson Blvd.

H. B.

The McCarran Act

SEATTLE, WASH.

I still would like to know the provisions of the new McCarran Act. From our local paper I learned that it is a most reasonable codification of existing immigration laws — no great change in American policy. From Mr. Truman I learned that is is infamous and fantastic — and from the GUARDIAN that it is another step into the police state. I suppose your eastern readers may have access to such facts in the daily press, but please keep us in mind and give us more facts. Then our opinions will have more weight with those who need education.

Mary Salvus

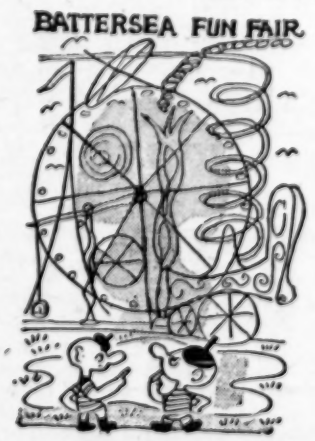
Copies of the McCarran Act and any other bills or legislation are available on request from your local congressman's office in Washington, D. C. Ed.

She can do no more

DES MOINES, IOWA

Enclosed you will find a donation, to keep the GUARDIAN going. It is all I can afford, as the only income I have is earned as a "sitter." I am a victim of cerebral palsy, and cannot find other work that I can do. My father is also a cripple, and only recently returned to a new job after a couple of years of unemployment. It takes all we can both earn to pay necessary expenses, such as rent and food bills. I am now spending more to aid legal defense funds and progressive publications than I am upon myself. I can do no more.

Marjorie Farris



Dyad in Daily Worker, London

"I know—it's the machinery for negotiating wiv trade unions."

More united than ever

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Attendance at the Third PP Convention would have been a strong and beneficial tonic to the tired liberal, the indifferent Democrat and Republican, the confused independent and the cynical stay-at-home.

The giant progressives of America were in Chicago. But what thrilled me was the high level of discussion reached by the rank-and-file delegates.

We tried to hammer out a program in three days, too few indeed for such a task. To do a comprehensive job would have required at least a full week. It can be understandable, therefore, that those of us who came from great distances, not always in the most comfortable way, should be tired and a bit on edge towards the end of the Convention. In spite of some omissions in the platform, some short tempers, some repetitious remarks, some misunderstandings, the Convention was a hard-working and hard-hitting one. We left Chicago more united than ever.

The contributions by the Negro delegates — especially the Negro women — and the Japanese-Americans, the Mexican-Americans, will long be remembered. The job facing us now is to bring the platform and the candidacies of Hallinan and Bass to the people.

Sol Derman,
Chairman, Missouri Delegation

For Dr. DuBois

ALTO, MICH.

Open letter to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois:

Your beautifully delivered keynote speech came to us over the radio and brought with it a feeling of hope and high courage. I am 63 years of age and since the year of 1928 have had a deep sense of shame at the absence of any ethical and religious atmosphere at our national conventions. At that time I was reading Plato's Republic and the contrast that was brought to me was very depressing. But since hearing the keynote speech for the Progressive Party I realize that high ethical ideals are still in existence. God will bless you and the Progressive Party for that bold and stirring message.

Ray Matthews

Changed by Chicago

MOBERLY, MO.

Some months ago I urged the Progressive Party and its campaign on a young peace leader. His reaction was lukewarm. Since then this man has met Mrs. Bass, and has attended the Convention. He is perhaps as enthusiastic a supporter of the Progressive Party and the Hallinan-Bass campaign as anyone I have met. He plans a very aggressive campaign, and has already done a great deal. When we consider that he comes from Jackson County, Missouri, the home county of HST, and from Kansas City, the home of Pendergastdom, we can see something of the effect that the 1952 PP program can have on the American people.

I am somewhat disturbed that statehood for Hawaii and Alaska did not attain the interest that was shown in Puerto Rico. It seems axiomatic for all liberals. Is there some reason that progressives are not enthusiastic about this issue?

(Rev.) David W. Janes

How crazy can you get dept.

RUSSIA DIGS HERSELF A DITCH
New Canal Will Turn Moscow Into 'Port of the Five Seas'
By Eddy Gilmore
Associated Press Writer

In reading this story, keep two things in mind: First, Russia exaggerates her accomplishments—frequently to the point of being ridiculous. Second, all material sent out by foreign correspondents is censored and the correspondents work under heavy pressure to further the ends of Red propaganda. Nevertheless, the facts of the story probably are true.

Headline and editor's precede to an article from Moscow on the Volga-Don Canal in the Louisville Courier-Journal, July 5.

One year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading.

Fr. Duffy's pamphlet

NEW YORK, N. Y.

To the numerous people who have written me at the GUARDIAN in response to my June 5 letter, and to these who have ordered the booklet "Peace On Earth" (25c), I wish not only to express my thanks but to assure them that they will receive the booklet in due course. The first run is exhausted and I am awaiting a fresh supply from the printer.

(Rev.) Clarence E. Duffy

Very quiet here

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I noted a comforting placard in a bank window—"No maximum for savings accounts." In these times of inter-stellar prices, the question naturally arises—"How to start a minimum account?" Don't all speak at once.

W. P. C.

ROBERT A. TAFT
What would papa say?

GOP picks general and witch hunter

(Continued from Page 1)

the American Medical Assn.), when he joined the GOP, how he votes, his theater, food and liquor preferences, his friends.

Ikeman Henry Ford II anchored his yacht off Michigan Blvd. for delegate deliberations. He also put 150 convincing new cream-and-blue Mercurys at delegates' disposal. New York's Young and Rubicam handled most Ike publicity, sent squads of drummers and tambourine players to meet every train with beautiful young women who pinned buttons on delegates saying: "We're glad you're for Ike."

THE REAL FIGHT: For all the circus, though, the battle was real. Faded Gen. MacArthur and Sen. Taft were not the only casualties. Midwestern financial and industrial groups were fighting to wrest control of the party—and the biggest anticipated plums—from the eastern Wall St. group that liked Ike best. In the clash between these interests arose the only real difference between Eisenhower and Taft. Ike emphasized war in Europe, where Wall St. investments count most; Taft stressed war in the Far East.

John Foster Dulles commandeered a platform which, ABC commentator Elmer Davis said, was "devised so that any man could run on it." While Sen. Millikin (Colo.) droned it out for one hour, delegates walked the aisles and chatted. Convention chairman Rep. Martin (Mass.) pounded the gavel, shouted:

> "You may as well learn what you're going to vote on in a few minutes."

TWO DELIVERIES: The 6,000-word program was rarely specific. It assailed corruption, waste, extravagance; favored thrift, virtue, divine providence. It offered no alternative to President Truman's policy. It favored the Taft-Hartley Law and two mail deliveries a day, opposed rent control. To farmers it held out the hope of full parity prices, but pointed with pride to the 80th Congress' agricultural program which set a sliding scale of price supports from 60-90% parity. It would turn flood control and irrigation projects back to the states, in effect killing them or leaving them to private monopolies.

On civil rights it back-tracked from 1948, failed to call for an enforcable Federal FEPC. Instead it favored anti-discrimination legislation by the states, with vague "supplemental" federal legislation.

SELLOUT ON FEPC: Negro delegates had caucused, drafted a substitute plank calling for an enforcable FEPC. But after the platform was read delegate Harold C. Burton (New York) said:

> "After considering that plank, many of us being lawyers, we decided it could be construed so as to provide for a Fair Employment Practices Commission."

That ended discussion. Other Negro delegates, taken by surprise, tried to rally a fight; but "liberal" champions of FEPC like Sens. Morse (Ore.) and Ives (N.Y.) refused to take up the fight.

U.S. OK's limited Big Four talks

HOW would Western Europe, which followed the GOP convention with interest, feel? C. L. Sulzberger (**NYT**, 7/13) reported this likely reaction to the nomination of Eisenhower:

> Many statesmen will now figure that they cannot lose, in terms of their own relationships, with the U.S., no matter whether the general or a Democrat is finally elected. . . . One North Atlantic Treaty Organization Ambassador said: "No matter what happens now we can't lose."

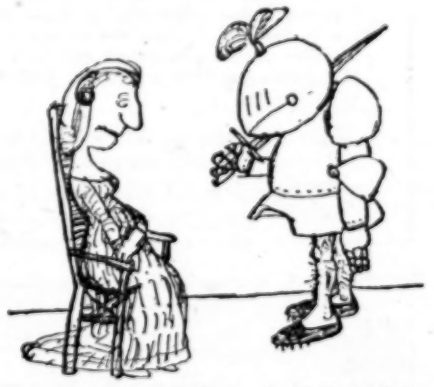
But events abroad indicated that the nomination had no effect on the mounting dissatisfaction with U.S. foreign policy.

In Germany the Bundestag—where Chancellor Adenauer had the majority with him—voted to send the Bonn contract to Bundestag committees, but ratification still awaited the second and third readings. The Bundestag also

> . . . unanimously adopted a Socialist motion asking the Government to request the Allied powers to hold four-power talks with the Soviet Union on Germany's unification." (NYT, 7/11)

THE HORSE BALKS: Edwin Hartrich reported in the **Wall St. Journal** (7/8):

> A frightened filly, Western Germany is balking at being harnessed to the European Defense Community. . . . With every passing day, the nation seems to show greater reluctance to joining the European Army. . . . The issue may not be finally settled before Christmas. . . . Meanwhile, the creation of West Germany's 12 divisions has been postponed—and there's no assurance that the postponement won't be of indefinite duration.



Francois in Tribune des Nations, Paris
"But Pierre, the bare legs aren't practical for fighting and the upper part is too heavy for running."

Declaring that communism "was less dangerous than people pretended," Pastor Martin Niemoeller said:

> "If we are to hope for the slightest biological remnant of the German people after the next war, there is only one answer — to go with the Russians. (London Daily Express, 7/3).

In face of a growing world-wide demand for a comprehensive solution to the issue of a neutralized Germany through a Big Four conference, the U.S. finally and reluctantly joined Britain and France in a note to Moscow. But the note agreed to discuss only the selection of a "commission for studying the possibility of free elections throughout Germany."

BRITAIN BRISTLES: To some extent, Washington's partial retreat seemed caused by events in Britain. There Labor's left-wing leader Aneurin Bevan was receiving increasing support; public demand for peace and opposition to U.S. policies and methods of warfare in Korea were mounting. Bevan's position was endorsed by the Shop Distributive and Allied Workers Union (350,000 members); Amalgamated Engineering Union (800,000) and Natl. Union of Railwaymen (400,000). (**NYT** 7/13)

After a full meeting of the Parliamentary Labor Party—held to discuss tactics for the debate on Korea July 1—Bevan and his supporters came away believing that a decision had been made to present a motion condemning not only the absence of Anglo-American consultation before the Yalu River bombings but the bombings themselves. However, the motion drafted later contained only a mild censure for the lack of consultation.

At a second meeting on the morning of the debate Bevan moved a vote of censure against Attlee and Morrison for thwarting the will of the Parliamentary Party. Of more than 200 present, 101 supported Attlee, 52 Bevan. The abstentions led the London **Sunday Times** (7/6) to express serious doubt "whether on a free ballot Mr. Attlee could have withstood the challenge." Among those abstaining were Emanuel Shinwell, Minister of Defense in the Attlee Cabinet, and at least one member of the party's Parliamentary Committee.

Ike's mother

Ida Stover Eisenhower, mother of Gen. Eisenhower, was buried in Abilene, Kan., on Sept. 11, 1946. Mrs. Eisenhower was a pacifist and an active member of Jehovah's Witnesses since 1885, as was her husband who died in 1942. The local Witnesses' group met in the Eisennower home until 1915, when they got their own meeting hall.

At her funeral, according to the Witness publication **Awake** (Oct. 22, 1946) an Army chaplain from Fort Riley, Kan., conducted the services. The pall bearers were three American Legionnaires and three Veterans of Foreign Wars. Mrs. Eisenhower was very much opposed to her son's military career, the magazine said, and added: "It was gross disrespect to the deceased for an army chaplain to officiate at the funeral."

GO HOME, RIDGWAY: Organized demand for peace continued to increase in Britain. Leaders of 100,000 South Wales miners sent

> . . . a resolution to the Government to secure an armistice in Korea immediately on the basis of the Geneva Convention. (London Daily Worker, 6/28)

At a public meeting in Oxford Town Hall July 4, called by the Council for British Independence, trade unionists and prominent Oxford Labor Party members heard an educator, a preacher, a composer urge the Government

> ". . . to cast off the yoke of American domination and secure British independence."

The N.Y. **Times** reported (7/11):

> The "Go Home Ridgway" campaign . . . blossomed out tonight into a mile-long procession through London.

Two Anglican clergymen led it.

TIME TO TALK: The **London Observer** (7/6) quoted Labor Party Secy. Morgan Phillips:

> "The time has now come to talk to Russia, for Russia will talk, to recognize Communist China, to neutralize Formosa, to give the people of Germany some hope of being a reunited people. . . ."

The same issue of the **Observer** reported that MP John Strachey, former Labor War Minister, in a public speech echoed Phillips and urged the British government "to make our American allies see the necessity" of making "something practical" of the latest North Korean truce proposals.

Conductor Sir Adrian Boult and composer Benjamin Britten deplored "recent actions calculated to prolong and perhaps extend the war in Korea" and "urged the speedy conclusion of an armistice."

The Archbishop of York, Dr. C. F. Garbett, told the York Diocesan Conference that

> . . . the Church should call for international agreements to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons, the napalm bomb, obliteration bombing and bacteriological warfare (London Standard, 7/3).

The **Observer** in an editorial (6/29) said that the Yalu raids last month had

> . . . estranged British and American opinion . . . an ominous fact which cannot be shrugged off.

New Times, Moscow

2,000 die in raid on N. Korea capital

TRUCE talks had been proceeding for ten days behind closed doors at Panmunjom and peace hopes rose without the usual despairing "no progress" communiques. UN Secy. Gen. Lie guessed "an armistice in Korea at the end of July or the beginning of August (**Reuters** 7/8). North Koreans and Chinese asked for a two-day recess at the week-end amid a flurry of speculations.

But on Saturday word came that the U.S. Air Force aided by British and other UN squadrons, in a day and night of bombing, had showered 1,140 tons of high explosive on the North Korean capital of Pyongyang and vicinity. Returning pilots reported

> . . . big islands of fire raging last evening where hundreds of gallons of napalm —jellied gasoline—fell. (N.Y. Times, 7/12).

The Pyongyang radio counted 2,000 dead, 4,000 injured, 250 missing; unknown number of prisoners of war, U.S. and others, dead and missing; 1,500 civilian installations destroyed.

Asian delegates to the UN feared the new blows "might wipe out hopes for an armistice soon." (N.Y. **Times** 7/12)

NEW LOW FOR RHEE: In South Korea, **Business Week** (7/7) reported:

> Disillusion is spreading. . . . Refugees from North Korea . . . insist that the Communists aren't corrupt. . . . S. Korean Home Minister Lee Bum Suk presides over a tough, often brutal police force . . . economic mismanagement is sapping the determination of loyal Koreans. Inflation is rampant, production low, exports lagging.

SYNGMAN RHEE
The laughter is grisly

Lee Bum Suk's police waited to receive Sang Ryup Park, anti-Rhee Korean journalist, editor of the **Korean Independence** of San Francisco whom U.S. immigration authorities are trying to deport. Last May a Federal Court ruled Park could not be deported without guarantees of safety. Last week South Korean Ambassador Dr. Y. C. Yang said Park wouldn't be hurt "as long as he abides by the laws of his country." That was good enough for immigration officials who threatened to deport him at once. Actually he faces death or prison.

SOUTH AFRICA: In the Union of South Africa the Malan government (which has contributed troops to Korea) put on trial 106 colored persons in Boksburg, East Rand mining town, for taking part in the civil disobedience. (**Reuters** 7/12). Since the start of the campaign to frustrate jim crow laws June 26, about 500 Africans, Indians, colored men and women have been arrested. At the week-end the African National Congress held a mass meeting in Port Elizabeth to "honor the volunteers who are defying 'unjust laws.'"

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!

THE PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVE

The Progressive Party Platform for the '52 national elections

I. PEACE: THE MANDATE OF THE PEOPLE.

1. Agree to a cease-fire in Korea today, without any ifs, ands or buts. Propose an immediate armistice at the agreed upon demarcation line; all disputed questions, including the exchange of war prisoners, to be settled by civilian representatives of all nations involved in the war after the fighting stops.

2. Stop the rearmament and renazification of a disunited Germany. We must work out an agreement at the conference table with England, France and the Soviet Union to make Germany a united and disarmed neutral. We also oppose the rearming of Japan and call for a conference of all the former belligerents against Japan for the negotiation of a peace treaty.

3. Negotiate an international agreement outlawing the use of the A-bomb, and the H-bomb, with effective control and inspection of atomic stockpiles and installations. Ratify the Geneva Protocol outlawing the use of germ warfare. Take action in the UN for progressive universal disarmament.

4. Contribute to a United Nations fund of $50 billion for working with the peoples of the underprivileged areas of the world in the development by them of their own resources and the improvement of their own living standards, without any political or economic interference.

5. Provide full representation in the United Nations by admitting all present applicant nations, including the People's Republic of China. Recognize the People's Republic of China; and withdraw recognition from fascist Spain.

6. Defeat any bill for Universal Military Training. Repeal the Draft Law.

7. Abolish the trade barriers to peaceful trade between America and the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe.

8. Support the demands for independence and freedom of colonial peoples all over the world.

9. Grant the Puerto Rican people the right to full and immediate independence, and extend them economic assistance.

10. Extend full statehood to the territories of Alaska and Hawaii.

11. Proceed to hold a conference of the five great powers, as the only peaceful means for securing an over-all settlement of differences.

II. JOBS AND SECURITY FOR AMERICA.

The richest nation in the world, we have the resources to assure all Americans against want, to build all the houses, hospitals we need. A fraction of what we waste on insane war preparations could provide an adequate social welfare program.

Only through the planned development of all our resources will the full benefit of the Nation's wealth and productivity be secured for all of the people. Farmer and laborer, housewife and shopkeeper, all remember and urgently seek the Economic Bill of Rights first put forth by Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Progressive Party urges the following program to make that Economic Bill of Rights a reality today:

1. Strict Federal dollar and cents price ceilings and restoration of Federal Rent Control at pre-Korean levels.

2. End of wage-freeze. Return to free collective bargaining.

3. Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act and re-enact the Wagner Act. Defeat the Smith Anti-Labor bill.

4. Launch a national housing program to provide 2.5 million low-rent homes a year, with public subsidies to make low rents possible. Wipe out the slums and provide all Americans with decent homes, without discrimination or segregation.

5. Tax exemption for families of four whose income is below $4,000 and individuals whose income is below $2,000. Allow tax deductions to working mothers for the cost of child care. Raise corporation taxes. Close the tax loopholes for wealthy individuals and large corporations. Defeat the proposed Federal sales tax. Repeal the excise tax on necessities. Provide tax relief for small business.

6. A comprehensive Federal system of old-age, unemployment and disability compensation guaranteeing to every American, without discrimination, benefits equal to a minimum decent standard of living. For the aged, not less than $150 monthly; for the unemployed or disabled, not less than $40 weekly, with additional dependency allowances. Extend the Social Security Act to all workers and all who are self-employed, including the farmer.

7. Provide family allowances of $3 weekly per child.

8. A system of national health insurance, guaranteeing to all Americans as a matter of right, and not as charity, and without discrimination, adequate dental and medical care, together with a hospital and health center construction program and an expanded program of medical education and research. Provide dependency benefits to working mothers equal to the unemployment compensation.

9. Enact a comprehensive farm program, providing that the prices to be paid farmers will be agreed upon and set well in advance of the production season. So long as necessary, the market place returns to farmers should be supplemented by production payments at national expense—and with no nonsense about basic and non-basic farm commodities and with all working farmers receiving equal and equitable treatment. The total return to farmers for their products should be such as to enable them to adopt and enjoy living standards on a parity with the rest of the population and, in addition, to finance soil conservation practices and the restoration of soil fertility. Participation should be voluntary, conditioned upon performance, and limited to family type farmers with corporate and large scale operations excluded as a matter of public policy. Only through such a program can the long standing inequities between agriculture on the one hand and industry and commerce on the other be corrected, scarcity abolished, abundance assured, and the agricultural threat to our national survival removed. To that end, we call for the following:

- **100 per cent parity prices for all farm commodities on the basis of a revised and modernized parity formula.**
- **Halt the draft of our farm youth.**
- **Use production payments to encourage food production and reduce farm-to-market price spreads. Provide government credit at low rates to working farmers and enact a farm debt moratorium law.**
- **Provide federal development and conservation of soil, water and power resources on an integrated basin-wide scale, including the St. Lawrence seaway, to provide publicly owned low-cost power and irrigation water and protect against the ravages of flood and drought. Develop and conserve harbors and fisheries.**
- **Reduce taxes on working farmers and eliminate federal income taxes on farm cooperatives.**
- **Recognize the elementary right of agricultural workers and sharecroppers to organize and bargain collectively and end sharecropper peonage in the South. Enact a tenant purchase program. Provide full coverage of agricultural workers under Workmen's Compensation, Unemployment Insurance, and Social Security legislation. Establish minimum federal standards for the protecion of agricultural workers, including all who come from Mexico, Puerto Rico, and the British West Indies.**

10. Appropriate ten billion dollars for a 10 year program of federally financed school construction; immediate appropriation of one billion dollars for federal aid for public schools to raise teachers' salaries, employ additional needed teachers and provide essential materials and services for the children. Eliminate segregation and all forms of discrimination in education.

11. Increase to $1.25 the minimum hourly wage under the Fair Labor Standards Act, with overtime pay for work in excess of 30 hours in any work week.

12. Empower the Federal Bureau of Mines to fine or close down mines not conforming to Government standards of safety.

Introductory paragraphs in some sections of the accompanying text have been edited to insure inclusion of all platform planks. Full text may be obtained from Progressive Party, 17 West 45th St., N. Y. C.

OLD PROGRESSIVES
A delegate from Ohio, with his gear in a shopping bag, greets an old friend from Minnesota at the registration desk.

PREAMBLE

Cease Fire In Korea at Once—No Ifs, Ands or Buts

THE American people want peace. In recognition of this universal desire, each political party will claim to be the peace party in 1952.

There is one touchstone by which every voter can test the sincerity of these claims: Does the party have a program for ending the fighting in Korea? Has it any proposal to stop a useless and senseless war which has already cost over 110,000 American casualties and untold suffering to the Korean people, under cover of which the people are being robbed of their freedom and their substance?

Judged by this acid test, the professions of peace made by the Democratic and Republican candidates are a fraud and a pretense. They may differ on how the war in Korea should be fought and vie with each other in reckless acts and proposals that threaten to spread it beyond Korea's borders, engulfing the world. But neither old party and none of its candidates—be they generals, bankers or politicians—has any realistic plan for ending it.

Only the Progressive Party opposed the Korean War from its outset.

Only the Progressive Party has a program for its immediate termination.

The Progressive Party is the only genuine party of peace.

For more than two years before the fighting started in Korea the Progressive Party warned that the Truman-Dulles cold war would inevitably lead to a shooting war. It has consistently opposed each cold war step taken by the two old parties: Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, North Atlantic Pact, the huge arms program at home, the arming of Western Germany and Japan, alliances with Franco and Chiang Kai-shek, the support of reaction, renascent fascism and dying colonialism in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Even if the fighting were to end in Korea tomorrow, there are other Koreas in the making, in areas of international tension, particularly in a divided Germany. These must be averted before they result in the catastrophe of total war. Civilized negotiations among the powers can avert them.

We recognize the integral link between the bi-partisan war drive and the racist violence which seeks to suppress by napalm bombs and other atrocities the mighty upsurge of the peoples of Korea, South Africa, Indo-China, Malaya, the Philippines, India and Japan in the assertion of their inherent right to determine their own destinies.

The Progressive Party has steadfastly demanded a return to the Roosevelt-Willkie policy of One World that proved itself in the victory over fascism and held out the promise of an enduring peace.

That glorious promise can still be redeemed by the American people. The Progressive Party enters the 1952 election campaign dedicated to its redemption.

Defend the Rights of Labor; Protect the Living Standards of the American People

THE Democratic and Republican parties offer no end to the war in Korea because that war, and the billions spent in preparation for an even bigger war have bee
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THE EDITOR MEETS HIS READERS
A few hundred NATIONAL GUARDIAN readers at the Progressive Party convention get together to exchange views on how to improve the pa frage, answering a questi McManus and Robert E.

ve been profitable business for the giant corporations serve, netting them 150 billion dollars in profits and in the past four years.

profits have been extracted from the people.

r war are taxing away one-third of the average work- ave cut the purchasing power of the farmer by one- living stands at the highest point in our history. Yet, so-called national emergency, the right of the trade ust wage increases is being wrecked. Even as they ols and clamp a tighter freeze on wages, the bi- ting out of existence the right to bargain and to strike. prosperity through a war economy is fading before the wing l[illegible] and unemployment in the automobile and ared f[illegible]r as well as in textiles and consumer in- me time, a rigid cold-war embargo shuts off the limit- rkets of China, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe American workers and farmers.

housing, schools and playgrounds, the protection of the harnessing our river valleys and conserving our soil ing our senior citizens a decent income on retirement, oung people with education and peace-time jobs, are race for bigger and deadlier weapons. This year the d to spend 65 billion dollars for arms while less than amount has been appropriated for the people's welfare.

ual Rights for the Negro People—Now

n of the bi-partisans has been accompanied by the f racist acts and practices against the Negro people, ican people, the Puerto Rican people and the Jew-

erican bombs are wiping out the villages and snuffing colored people. Here at home, the terror-weapon of the on the Negro people in an attempt to stem the rising struggle for full equality and freedom. But bombs, vio- ill not halt the Negro people in their march to full they be put off by the pious repetition of platform wo old parties which have shamelessly betrayed their ch and anti-poll tax legislation and an F. E. P. C. The e of the Negro people for equality and full representa- of government is making a vital contribution to the and freedom of all Americans.

he Bill of Rights for All Americans

ense of the so-called national emergency, American erties are being destroyed. Free speech and assembly, el, to bail, to a fair hearing—the Bill of Rights itself aft-Hartley, Smith and McCarran Acts, McCarthyism with the support of both old parties and the participa- of government, executive, legislative and judicial. The deral government has been followed by a rash of similar t every state.

Workers, teachers, authors, actors, government employees, small business men and professional people, are hounded, harassed, denied passports, driven from their jobs, terrorized and blacklisted for daring to express political criticism. Men and women are victimized and jailed on the unsupported testimony of stool-pigeons and paid informers or on the charges of nameless accusers brought by the FBI.

Foreign born non-citizens are deported or jailed indefinitely. Naturalized Americans are having their citizenship revoked for their political opinions.

This nullification of constitutional freedom was at first ostensibly directed against the Communists alone. Now, inevitably, all Americans—and organized labor foremost—are the victims. The so-called "emergency" used to justify the conviction of Communists under the Smith Act is invoked to destroy labor's basic right to bargain collectively through the use of injunctions, governmental seizures and the wage freeze. Not content with these measures, the bi-partisans are now pushing further legislation in Congress, sponsored by the author of the Smith Act itself, which would completely outlaw the right to strike.

The events of the past four years have fully confirmed our platform statement in 1948 that defense of the constitutional rights of Communists and all other political groups to express their views is the first line in the defense of the liberties of a democratic people.

The Biggest Graft of All: The War-Racket

THE only liberty guaranteed by both old parties is the liberty to pilfer the public purse. The tax graft, the police graft, the mink coat scandals have revolted all honest Americans. But these are penny-ante games compared to the big racket—the war racket. Billions are made in the deals arrived at in the Pentagon and in the very halls of Congress. Tideland oil, natural gas, pipelines, extravagant ship subsidies, control over railroad ratemaking, control of the air waves, rapid tax write-offs, tax loopholes—these mean billions to the profit-mad backers of the two old parties.

It is clear that in 1952, neither Democrats nor Republicans can offer the people anything but more war in Korea, more spending for war, and the consequences of war spending: a tighter belt on the living standards and liberties of our people. Neither party offers any alternative. They blame Soviet aggression. Yet, the generals and politicians have themselves punctured the carefully nurtured myth of aggressive Soviet intentions by stating in unguarded moments that they don't believe the USSR will start a war now or at any time. As the Chicago Tribune—no friend of Communism—observed, if Soviet Russia did not exist, it would be necessary for the war spenders to invent her.

The Key to Peace: American-Soviet Understanding and Co-Operation

AMERICAN-SOVIET understanding and cooperation still remain the key to peace. Despite the differences in political and economic viewpoints between the United States and the Soviet Union, whatever mistakes each may have made, whatever the shortcomings of each great country may be, they can and must work together on the basis of mutual self-interest and the dictates of survival, for world peace, far-reaching disarmament and normal international trade.

The Progressive Party asserts that the real threat to American security comes, not from without, but from within: from the policies of the bi-partisans themselves. Those policies have not protected our national security but undermined it. They have debased the living standards and are destroying the freedoms of the American people, on which our national security rests.

The tremendous armaments program that the Truman Administration has forced upon Western Europe, together with its disruption of East-West trade, have steadily lowered living standards in England, France and Italy; and are bringing these countries to the brink of economic disaster. America's get-tough policy is also tough on the hard-pressed peoples of Western Europe. It is tough, too, on the people of Turkey and Greece, who suffer under a fascist government and a decaying monarchy, supported by American dollars.

The devastation our weapons have wrought in Korea and the repression of the colonial liberation movements in Asia and African have earned us the enmity of the colored peoples. The rearming of Germany and Japan is not only a gross violation of our war-time agreements, but is alienating the freedom-loving people of the world who fought beside us to extirpate the scourge of fascism.

The reservoir of good will for America, filled to overflowing under Franklin Roosevelt, has run dry. We stand today without firm friends or stable allies anywhere.

The American People Are Fighting Back

THE American people have not remained silent. They are voicing a powerful mandate for a cease-fire in Korea at once; labor is standing up in aroused strength against the wage-freeze, injunctions, and anti-union shackles. A militant Negro people is splendidly asserting its right to full citizenship. Americans of all political affiliations are speaking up in defense of basic civil liberties.

The Progressive Party asserts that the true America can and must be restored: The America of a great and creative people, born to a tradition of individual liberty and the friends of peoples striving for freedom everywhere, applying the vast resources of our land to peaceful pursuits for the benefit of our own citizens and all mankind. Such an America—and only such an America—can be a secure America.

To restore such an America, we offer the following platform.

In offering it, we reaffirm our belief in the validity of the democratic process. "Freedom is the right to choose." We dedicate ourselves to the preservation and extension of that basic right. So long as that right is secured to the American people, we are confident that the program for which we stand can be obtained through the exercise of the processes guaranteed by the Constitution, and we will vigorously oppose any group that would subvert the democratic process and seek its objectives by any other means.

Our platform and our candidates give to every voter, whatever his political affiliation, the opportunity to use his precious ballot as part of a peoples' referendum for peace, security and freedom.

Provide and guarantee equal job opportunities and job training for Negroes. Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and other minority groups.

14. Establish a system of nation-wide job training centers for youth; full social security protection for youth. Federal scholarships and cost-of-living grants, free from discrimination by reason of race, color, creed or national origin, to insure full educational opportunities. Grant the right to vote to 18 year olds.

15. We demand for all women the economic rights of first class citizens. We urge legislation forbidding discrimination against women, guaranteeing them equal pay and job security and removing all social and economic restrictions upon women, without jeopardizing existing protective legislation.

16. Enact a GI Bill of Rights for all veterans since World War II, providing all the benefits granted to World War-

e the paper. Standing is editor Cedric Bel- question. At table at his left are John T. bert E. Light of the GUARDIAN staff.

II veterans. Increase all veterans' benefits in amounts which reflect the increased cost of living. Extend all veterans' benefits to merchant seamen with war service.

17. Establish a federally subsidized arts and theatre program.

III. END AMERICA'S SHAME; GUARANTEE FULL CIVIL RIGHTS FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND OTHER MINORITIES; END SEGREGATION.

The deliberate official policy of government on all levels which denies full equality of rights to sixteen million Negro Americans is responsible for the evils of segregation, discrimination, police brutality, terror, lynching and second-class citizenship.

That policy has shortened the average life span of the Negro people in America to eight years less than the life span of whites. It sanctions violence and murder against Negroes solely because they are Negroes—and this violence is being wrought on so mounting a scale that it approaches what is defined as "genocide" under the United Nations Convention against genocide.

An aroused and determined Negro people properly insist on their protection, on their full status as American citizens, and on full representation in the political life of the nation.

In vigorous and uncompromising support of these aims and steps toward stamping out every form of discrimination against the Negro people, the Mexican-American people, the Puerto Rican people, the Jewish people and other minority groups, the Progressive Party calls for:

1. A Federal Fair Employment Practices Law with effective enforcement powers to guarantee equality in job opportunities and training for the Negro people, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and all other minorities.

2. A Federal anti-poll tax law together with Federal legislation to guarantee to the Negro people, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and other minorities the right to register and to vote in primary and general elections for Federal office. Revise Senate cloture rules to make filibusters impossible.

3. A Federal anti-lynch law.

4. The immediate issuance of an Executive Order by the President to prohibit discrimination in employment, under any contract entered into by the Federal government or any of its agencies.

5. The immediate issuance of an Executive Order by the President for effective prosecution under the Federal civil rights statutes of the violation of the civil rights of Negro citizens and other minorities.

6. End of segregation and discrimination in housing.

7. The immediate issuance of an Executive Order to end segregation and discrimination in the armed forces, in all Federal departments and agencies, and in the Panama Canal Zone.

8. Real Home Rule for the District of Columbia and Congressional legislation to prohibit every form of segregation and discrimination in the nation's capital.

9. Full representation of the Negro and Puerto Rican and Mexican-American people in Congress, in State legislatures and all levels of public office.

10. Provide that all Federal laws appropriating Federal monies for any public purpose contain a specific provision prohibiting the use of any such funds in a manner which discriminates against the Negro people, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans or any other minorities.

11. Full citizenship for the American Indians and the right to administer their own affairs without loss of Reservation rights. Adequate compensation for loss of tribal land rights.

IV. RESTORE FREEDOM TO ALL AMERICANS.

The Progressive Party calls for a great national crusade to restore the full meaning of the Bill of Rights to all Americans.

1. Repeal the Smith, McCarran, and the new McCarran-Walter Acts. No concentration camps in America.

2. End all prosecution under the Smith Act, stop the proceedings under the McCarran Act, grant unconditional pardons and restore full civil rights to all persons convicted under the Smith Act.

3. Stop the persecution, deportation and imprisonment of native or foreign-born Americans because of their trade union or political activities or opinions.

4. Guarantee the freedom of advocacy for lawyers and the right of accused to counsel of their own choice.

5. Abolish the House Committee on un-American Activities, and the McCarran Committees of the Senate on Internal Security. Establish fair and equitable procedures for all legislative investigating committees.

6. End the "loyalty" and "screening" programs and the Attorney-General's subversive list which affect millions of government workers, teachers, members of the arts and professions, and millions more in private industry.

7. Maintain the traditional American principle of separation of church and state and protect the freedom of public education.

8. Provide compulsory public hearings on major legislation; end government by secret star chamber proceedings; insure public knowledge of the public business.

9. Ratify the UN Convention on Genocide and the UN Convention on Human Rights.

10. Stop attempts to impose thought control on teachers and pupils and the use of the public schools to promote war hysteria.

YOUNG PROGRESSIVES

Families of delegates were a common sight. The pictures on this page are among 1,000 taken by volunteer PP and GUARDIAN photographers.

THE LAW

THE YATES JAILING

Are Smith Act trials taking new course?

OLETA O'CONNOR YATES, one of 14 defendants in Los Angeles' Smith Act trial, was still in jail last week on four counts of "civil contempt" for refusing to turn informer for the government on the witness stand (GUARDIAN, July 10). The sentence she is now serving will expire at the end of the trial; then she faces indeterminate sentences on 11 additional counts of "criminal contempt" for refusing to name names for the prosecution. After her first week in jail, trial judge William C. Mathes offered her immediate freedom if she would "purge" herself of contempt by answering the loaded questions. Mrs. Yates replied:

> "Again repeating my desire not to defy the court, again repeating that I have tried to be as honest and as truthful as I could, again saying that I have endeavored to answer every major charge that was leveled against me in the indictment and by the prosecution, I find that I cannot do any more. I cannot do anything that would cause an injury to innocent people who have done no wrong and would only be victimized because of the political atmosphere that now exists.
>
> "On that basis I must retain my previous position."

THEY MAY ADMIRE: For her able and forthright performances as the sole defense witness in the trial of the Communist leaders for "conspiring to advocate" the overthrow of the government, and for her choice of indefinite imprisonment rather than turn informer, Mrs. Yates last week had won the admiration of friend and foe alike. Even the judge commented:

> "The jury undoubtedly understands what it is to be put under the obligation to inform on others. They may feel that they would do the same thing. . . . They may admire a witness who does not inform."

But she went to jail. To all observers, it was clear the government had found a seemingly fool-proof method of getting its Smith Act victims into jail or crippling their defense. Three other Los Angeles defendants rested their cases at the end of Mrs. Yates' testimony rather than subject their witnesses to the "vindictive vengeance of the prosecution." The West Coast **Daily People's World** described the method as applied by U. S. Atty. Norman Neukom:

> As [he] continued to press his questions, one after another, in monotonous repetition and each to its inevitable conclusion—a contempt citation—an uneasy, strained silence settled upon the courtroom. Afterward, spectators expressed their sense of sickening revulsion at the sadistic performance.

Defense committees for Smith Act victims in New York and California urged letters and wires to Atty. Gen. James P. McGranery, Washington, D. C., and to U. S. Atty. Walter S. Binns, Federal Bldg., Los Angeles, Calif., urging the "inquisitorial questions" be stricken from the record.

EXPERT OBJECTION: As the Los Angeles trial drew toward its close, defense attorneys submitted to Judge Mathes an "offer of proof of the unconstitutionality of the Smith Act as applied." The 72-page document was a summation of the testimony that would be given by ten outstanding authorities on constitutional liberties if they were allowed to take the stand and which, the defense said, would prove that Smith Act prosecutions

> . . . are one of the principal causes for the severe restrictions and limitations upon the exercise of constitutional liberties in the U. S.; the growing pattern of conformity, lack of independence, and self-censorship; the increasing fear and intimidation which pervades the forums of discussion; and the threat to the fundamental democratic institutions upon which the security of the Republic depends.

The ten experts: Roger N. Baldwin, natl. chmn., ACLU; Vern Countryman, Yale Law School faculty; George M. Day, professor emeritus, Occidental College; Osmond K. Fraenkel, civil liberties atty.; Prof. Fowler V. Harper, Yale Law School; Eason Monroe, ex. dir., So. Calif. branch, ACLU; Clifford Phillips, publisher, **Frontier Magazine**; Joseph L. Rauh Jr., chmn., natl. ex. bd. Americans for Democratic Action; Edgar Warren, former chief, U. S. Conciliation Service, now dir., Institute of Industrial Relations, UCLA; William Lindsay Young, So. Calif. regional dir., Natl. Conf. of Christians and Jews, Inc.

OLD REDWASH U.

Atty. Gen. McGranery announced this week that the FBI would set up a new division that would devote all its time to studying Communist techniques. "We've just got to sharpen up," he said.

FREEDOMS

NAACP convention stresses elections

WHEN DELEGATES arrived late last month in Oklahoma City for the 43rd annual convention of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, they stared at jimcrow signs, found all downtown hotels closed to them, discovered that a promise of use of the air-conditioned Municipal Auditorium had not been kept. In whatever accomodations they could find—in 100-degree temperatures—they pondered the title of their organization's annual report, "Nineteen-Fifty-One, The Year of the Hate Bomb," read its grim summation:

> Cases involving the violation of Negroes' rights in 1951 were probably more shocking than during any other year in recent history.

Then they got on with their work. In this election year, NAACP spokesmen emphasized the growing strength of Negro votes. Secretary Walter White reported nearly 2,000,000 Negro voters are registered in the South, that they hold a potential balance of power "in no less than 17 northern states with a total of 281 electoral votes."

WARING ABSENT: Traditional position of the NAACP is to support no candidate, commit itself to no party, but to offer its legislative research on candidates' and parties' civil rights records.

White expressed scorn for Republican Presidential aspirants—he placed Eisenhower to the right of Taft and Russell of Georgia on civil rights—but had high praise for Harriman and President Truman. (The President's greeting to the convention got something of an ovation).

The convention heard the organization will shift its major efforts away from challenging segregation in the schools—two such cases are before the Supreme Court—to challenging through the courts jimcrow in public recreation facilities and transportation.

A prominent speaker failed to appear: J. Waties Waring, former Federal judge of South Carolina who chose social and political ostracism in his native state rather than soften his militant fight for full Negro equality. NAACP leaders refused to explain his absence. But some Negro weeklies reported Judge Waring in disagreement with NAACP strategy in the fight

(Continued on Page 7)

Belfrage and Petran in North California

Readers in the San Francisco area are hereby alerted that the GUARDIAN's Cedric Belfrage and Tabitha Petran will be in the San Francisco area from July 26 to Aug. 2 inclusive. A number of meetings and parties are being arranged for them, and readers will not only be welcome but are invited to bring their friends.

Call Mrs. Barbara Sicular, Berkeley 7-2677 (1401 La Loma, Berkeley 8) for dates and times.

Packinghouse Worker, Chicago

News Item: Geographical wage differentials between North and South cost labor 4½ billion yearly.

CHICAGO

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(Continued from Page 6)

against segregation, had accused the leaders of playing Democratic politics. The Pittsburgh **Courier** was caustically critical of the "no comment."

NOT IN ACCORD: Last week Dr. Louis T. Wright, NAACP board chairman, made public portions of Waring's letter explaining his absence:

> My only reason for appearing before any audience is to urge the cause of full equality in the immediate future for all men irrespective of race. The NAACP was created for that purpose. So there is little use for anyone to urge it to accept these ideals. But there is a crying need that we implement these ideals. There is a crying need that unequivocal action be taken. And my views there do not accord with the actions of your staff. . . . If I were to appear I would have to be frank in stating my views relative to alliances and commitments of the staff to one political party; and also I would criticize the lack of activities of the legal staff in attacking (without continuous delay and evasion) what I consider the basic evil, namely segregation. I would advocate the complete abandonment of the separate but equal approach. . . . Whatever may be the differences of opinion as to the basic principles and methods of attaining the great goal of equality of opportunity and full citizenship by the Negro people, let us preserve a united front.

Dr. Wright denied reports that the Waring charges had caused a board split. But the Waring letter was something of a giant firecracker in top NAACP circles.

Judge Waring's own views on the muddy politics of the two major parties on the civil rights issue were clearly stated in a letter published in the Washington **Post** July 2. He allowed that President Truman might "point with pride" to the report of his committee on civil rights, but he added that

> . . . the concept of citizenship means and carries with it the responsibility of national action which can be brought about only by action of the Federal Government.
>
> Why do we have the sorry spectacle of both great political parties apparently being afraid of a small group of dissident politicians motivated solely by sectional desire to perpetuate the outmoded system of white supremacy? . . . Why do we still think that we can do business with the white supremists who arrogate to themselves the "right" to deny the equal protection of the laws to certain groups of our citizens, measuring the amount of protection by the pigmentation of the skin?
>
> It is important that both political parties stop playing precinct politics with this important issue. . . .

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LATIN AMERICA

Mexican election called huge fraud

MEXICANS last week speculated on how many votes each candidate got in the July 6 election and how many were killed in the riots that followed. Official casualty figures originally were 4 dead, 50 injured. Some reporters counted 35 corpses in one hospital alone. Gunfire and tear gas injured hundreds, the N. Y. **Times** said; at least 400 were jailed.

The government's reporting of election returns seemed calculated provocation. At 5 p.m. on election day, before the polls closed, Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, candidate of the ruling Party of Revolutionary Institutions (PRI), called a press conference, announced himself as the president-elect after a victory "which for its fairness no one will be able to question or try to criticize."

Hoy, Mexico City

The lady's name is Petroleum

TAMMANY BLUSHES: Earlier on election day, while voters still stood in line at the polls, the government reported the city of Coatzacoalcos (pop: about 20,000) had gone 100% for Ruiz Cortines; the whole state of Campeche, 95%. It was midnight before the capital's newspapers had even scattered returns from the Federal District. A GUARDIAN correspondent in Mexico City wrote:

> "The government has consummated a fraud that Tammany, in its best days, could not even conceive."

El Popular, organ of the Popular Party (backing Vicente Lombardo Toledano) called it "the crudest electoral fraud since 1910."

Repeaters and padded rolls were widely reported. When the polls opened opposition watchers were excluded until after the voting was under way, making it possible for ballot boxes to be stuffed in advance. Throughout the state of San Luis Potosi ballot boxes were loaded onto trucks and driven off before any count could be made.

In a few places ballot-boxes were "stolen," presumably stuffed, then returned for counting. Along the frontier, where braceros working in the U. S. are allowed to come to vote, unchecked "tourists" cast ballots freely. Illiterate voters (roughly half the electorate) had to rely on help from the official PRI representatives to vote.

TOO MUCH: The N. Y. **Times,** regretting the dead and wounded, said:

> Technically speaking, one can still claim that Ruiz Cortines . . . won in a fair and orderly ballot . . . Mexico is making the long, hard, slow climb toward true democracy in steady fashion. It would be naive to expect a nation that knew nothing but chaos, bloodshed and revolutions throughout a century to become a democracy in true Anglo-Saxon style overnight.

It was plain that the pro-U. S. PRI, rounding up dissidents and setting up roadblocks, was prepared to assert its "victory." The question was: could Mexico keep intact its new-found united opposition — Gen. Miguel Henriquez Guzman's Federation of People's Parties, Lombardo Toledano's Partido Popular, the Communist Party and other lesser groups? How would the opposition contest the "election?"

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